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trine of 'open covenants, openly arrived at,' was supplanted by the policy of 'secret agreements, secretly arrived at,' the public had a right to believe, and did believe, that the fundamental principles of the league would be in accordance with these well-known and long-advocated policies."

By beginning in the natural way; namely, by the instrument of an international lawmaking body, all the difficulties now paralyzing reason would largely disappear. The details of organization, the selection of officers, the adjustment of finances, questions of exclusion and control; all elements involving personal equation; questions of representation, reduction of armaments, codes, guarantees, tariff control, waterways, neutrality, and the infinite number of others, would be settled in accordance with the principles of law and equity; and such laws, being the product of voluntary and co-operative beings, could through the years gradually reveal the ways to accomplish what now seems to be the impossible. Such a method of procedure could threaten in no sense the world as would any alliance for the enforcement of peace. It would be in conformity with the well-known principle that compulsory arbitration, compulsion and conciliation, are mutually exclusive terms and self-contradictory in nature. Presenting no fears, even of economic pressure, it would generate no dangerous hostilities, but would be a continuation of that very significant and familiar accomplishment most conspicuously set forth in that most illuminating "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" adopted at The Hague and ratified by the nations in 1899. As said by Mr. Charles E. Hughes, speaking with reference to the Adamson Law at Green Bay, Wisconsin, September 20, 1916: "All we have to do is to stand firmly for principle, and we can get justice done."

### LET US MAKE SURE NOW

**T**HE DAVY CROCKETT strain in us demands that before we go ahead we be sure we are right. To those who argue that we can safely accept the Covenant of the League of Nations, bad as it is agreed to be, because after we have signed it we can then proceed to patch it up, we would offer a word of warning. We would remind them of a single stubborn fact. That fact is this: When the United States signs the instrument she signs a treaty and assumes under it all treaty obligations. This means that she assumes every possible obligation, moral and legal, to abide by the terms of the treaty. When President Wilson or any one else advises us that when we have signed the treaty we have assumed no legal, but simply a moral, obligation, he renders a disservice to our thinking, an insult, indeed, to the moral intelligence of every right-minded American. The

second clause of article 6 of the United States Constitution provides that all treaties under the authority of the United States are the "supreme law of the land"; that, further, "the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." If, by signing the treaty, we become parties to this League of Nations, it becomes our moral and our legal obligation to do everything in our power to comply with the recommendations of the Council. In concrete terms that simply means that if the Council recommends that the United States shall send its armies to Abyssinia, we shall be legally and morally bound to do just that thing. A group of nine men dominated by five will have legislative, judicial, and executive power to decide whether or not the United States shall do that thing. It is conceivable that a situation might arise where the United States ought to send an army to Abyssinia; and if we, the American people, should feel that it was our duty to do that, we would do it; but that decision should be made, in our judgment, by the Congress of the United States, representing the people of the United States, and not by any group of five men sitting in Geneva or elsewhere. Davy Crockett's words were, "Be sure you're right, then go ahead." That has the American ring about it. Before we become a part of this alliance to enforce peace, let us first make sure of all that it means, for once the American people are convinced that a given course is right, they may be trusted to go ahead. They did it in the World War. They would do it again. But they knew where they were going then.

### ENGLISH POETS AND THE WAR

**D**URING THE WAR there were poets who defended it, stimulated enlistment in it, and prophesied great things from it. Since it closed, the current of comment by the singers has been quite adverse. Their mood, especially those of them who actually fought in Europe, is one of "pacifism," of contempt for the bellicose arm-chair ranters for war who stayed at home, and a terrible realism in depicting their own and other soldiers' experiences.

"You hope that we shall tell you that they found their happiness in fighting,  
Or that they died with a song on their lips,  
Or that we shall use the old familiar phrases  
With which your paid servants please you in the press;  
But we are poets  
And shall tell the truth."

Thus speaks Osbert Sitwell in "Argonaut and Jugger-naut."

Even more poignantly rebellious is Siegfried Sassoon,